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New Republic

STEEL AND THE PRESS

An Analysis of "Reporting" in the Wage Dispute

INDIA: COMMUNIST THREAT GROWS

by K. L. Shridharani

JUDGE WARING MOVES NORTH

by Bruce Bliven

Essays and Reviews by

Eric Bentley

David Riesman

Isaac Rosenfeld

Morton White

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Letters

The 1952 Campaign

● Now that President Truman has bowed out, liberals over the country are running in every direction to find a candidate to back in 1952. They can stop running and start working. Their man, a candidate your readers seem to have overlooked, is Estes Kefauver. Unlike Adlai Stevenson or W. O. Douglas he *is* a candidate. His qualifications are many —his liberal voting record speaks for itself. His ability to win elections is being proved every day in the primaries throughout the country. Sen. Paul Douglas, a well-known liberal, is actively supporting him. Douglas' statement, "Kefauver would make an admirable President—there's a Southerner we Northerners can go for," goes to prove another point for Kefauver—he can keep the Southern votes in the Democratic column.

I appeal to you liberals who are working for Stevenson, Bill Douglas, etc., to swing your support to the man who has won more Presidential primaries than any other candidate, the man who can thwart the Dixiecrats, the man who is actively campaigning for the nomination and will get it with your liberal support—Sen. Estes Kefauver.

CHARLES (CHUCK) CALDWELL
"Young Democrats for Kefauver"
Austin, Texas

● After reading T.R.B. on General Eisenhower, our new slogan might be: "I like Ike—in Europe!"
Fresh Meadows, N. Y. MICHAEL ARONSON

The Attack on UNESCO

● The United Nations Educational, Social and Cultural Organization has recently been the target of attack of the "save America" organizations which have blossomed forth so strongly since the war. . . .

The attack on UNESCO is nothing new. It is part of a long-range isolationist program of making the United Nations a political football fitted to the square toes of Robert Taft. Taft, in his expressed opinions, is brewing even more trouble for the United Nations by attacking the UN action in Korea. Taft intends to make it crystal clear that since through necessity the United States has contributed more to the defeat of the Communists we should not have to take any educational "trash" such as is being offered the world by UNESCO.

It is quite possible that if we attempt a closer alliance and understanding with the rest of the world through UNESCO the pro-Americans would resort to the book-burning tactics of the Nazis and Communists.

If the fear of losing something replaces the trust which has made the United Nations successful we may well see our last hope of permanent world peace join the ranks of the other "idealistic peace plots" which indeed make a long and impressive row of crosses.
Whittier, Calif. ROBERT L. MAGRUDER

"Sheer Brilliance"

● For scathing criticism and sheer brilliance Eugene Gressman's piece (*NR*, April 14) should win some sort of accolade. This piece-by-piece demolishment of rotten structures is all too rare.

Can we expect a Gressman repeat performance—soon?

For superb week-by-week performance T.R.B. deserves special mention, too.
Chicago, Ill. A. H. PERON

France's Refraction

● In the last few weeks, considerable attention has been focused on the trend of patriotism in the North African territories of Morocco and Tunis. *Time* described the situation in Morocco and concluded that the state of unrest among the people was unworthy of anything more than passing notice, believing as it did that "Americans on the scene have now pretty well convinced themselves that to be distracted by colonial problems in the present emergency would be like a fire engine's crew noticing that the streets are dirty and stopping to clean the litter." The magazine correspondent did not realize, however, that the "litter" could be high enough to challenge and stop all traffic whether it be passenger buses or fire engines.

It is necessary to pursue this point a little further by making it clear that the air bases are being constructed in North Africa at the expense of the American taxpayer, and furthermore, that the war against which they are being built is yet to be fought, if ever. The ultimate use of these bases will depend very largely, whether we like it or not, on the attitude of the Moroccans themselves.

If France and Morocco should decide to rehearse Viet-Nam in the Sahara, it is impossible to imagine that American airmen can walk into airfields in Morocco and say: "Well, we are not interested in this litter; we only want a chance to take off and land our planes here after operations, and you guys can be sure we shall not detract from your fighting in any way." And if Morocco sacks France in the encounter, it is absolutely comprehensible that they may decide not to recognize the absent ownership of air bases built with the consent of their late foe.

Often the United States pretends to be too busy to check the refraction of her European allies; it is important to point out that much anti-American feeling in the world today results from this negligence. Tense anxiety hangs over Asia today, from India to Formosa. Much American exertion has been diverted in this direction. It is clear, however, that the causes are not of American origin, but the brunt of protection falls on the United States.

France has pursued a stupid, jaundiced, shortsighted policy in Asia; radical nationalists have been forced to swing too far. True, indeed, France is paying for it, but more than French interests have been jeopardized by French follies. When

(Continued on page 4)

Bandwagon

The Complete Side

What are the facts in the steel industry dispute? The *News* believes its readers want a complete statement of those facts. On the editorial page—Page 8—you will find the opinion of the industry members of the Wage Stabilization Board. Read it and make up your own mind about the government seizure of the country's steel business. – *From the Indianapolis* News.

Mental Cruelty

Mrs. Sylvia Gable won an uncontested divorce today from actor Clark Gable on a charge that he would go "directly upstairs" after dinner, leaving her all alone by the television set. – *From the New York* Daily News.

"Count Your Blessings!"

Altho the African urban zones are slums, and altho their facilities for health, education, or play are only perhaps one-tenth as good as those the whites have and their opportunities for work are limited drastically, the African of the city slum eats better and lives easier and longer than his cousin still "in the bush." Today's lack of enthusiastic protest against discrimination could mean that the African is too busy counting his blessings to curse the hand which, even though it has beaten him and robbed him, has also helped feed him. – *From the Chicago* Daily Tribune.

Our readers are invited to contribute; $2 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, c/o New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – The Editors.

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New Republic

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WASHINGTON WIRE

KEFAUVER hits the hardest bump of his Presidential race May 6 in Florida. His opponent is Dick Russell (D, Ga.), one of the ablest men in the Senate. Up till now Kefauver has had to win every contest to stay in the race. The funny thing is, he has. He has had, however, only two really hard fights. He amazed everybody by topping Truman in New Hampshire, but even then the writers couldn't take him seriously. Then he all but eliminated Sen. Robert S. Kerr (D, Okla.) in the Nebraska primary. That was a real contest and a big victory. Since then Kefauver's problem was to find opposition. He won primaries mostly by default.

Kefauver has now built up enough momentum so that even a Florida defeat would not exactly eliminate him though it would badly, and perhaps mortally, damage him. On the other hand, victory would raise his prestige beyond anything yet achieved; it would indicate he could carry the South, and it would make even Washington reporters change their minds. By the same token it would virtually wash out Russell.

Kefauver is a supreme instance of a man aided by enemies. They have made it almost too easy. About the one thing the voters know is that the "bosses" are against him. Ex-Senator Scott Lucas thought himself injured by Kefauver's crime exposure in Illinois and had the gall to campaign against him in New Hampshire — making Kefauver more votes. Russell is scared stiff the same thing will happen in Florida. "Don't write him off as an 'amateur'!" he warns friends. "He knows what he's doing. He's running against corruption and Gov. Fuller Warren. He makes *me* seem just an interloper." Coming from shrewd Russell this is high praise. One after another unsavory fact comes out about crooked Florida bosses who are fighting Kefauver. If these bosses allow the votes to be counted (of which there is some doubt), he may win there, too, though the odds are against him.

Kefauver himself is a puzzle. His redheaded wife Nancy makes a better speech than he does. His talk at the important Harriman dinner in New York felt flat. In his coonskin cap he is a colorful and engaging figure, and he stands for the right things. The question remains (and it is not merely in hostile minds) whether he is big league stuff.

Truman addressed his press conference last week solemnly and soberly. It was evident that he had set out to draw attention back to the real issues of the day—the terrible gravity of the global situation in which the steel crisis played a part. He used solemn understatement instead of exaggeration. It must be said that he was impressive. The publishers' preposterous "tizzy" over a non-existent threat to "seize the newspapers" he quietly called hooey, to the evident satisfaction of most of the publishers' reporters present. There the little man stood, thick lenses glittering, his dark, double-breasted suit, with American Legion button, pressed and immaculate—the little man who had stood resolute in the 1946 Persian crisis, the Trieste crisis, the Greek-Turkish crisis, the Berlin airlift, the Korean crisis, and who now had stepped in and blocked a steel stoppage. He mentioned each of these incidents soberly and proudly. His goal, he said, had been prosperity at home and peace abroad. We had almost attained it, he said; we would attain it if we continued! Truman spoke simply, from his heart, and it was rather thrilling.

Two hours later something happened so characteristic that it somehow epitomizes the Truman Administration. It developed he had got important facts wrong. In his dramatic moment he had balled things up. The State Department got out a lame correction that

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set all the little bells in the ticker services ringing and editors, with papers going to press all over the country, seething. What Truman had divulged as an "ultimatum" to Stalin to take Soviet troops out of Persia in "1945" turned out to have happened in 1946, and it wasn't an ultimatum but a note (published at the time) and instead of a point-blank deadline saying act or else, as Truman sepulchrally revealed, it merely expressed "hope."

There is a comic side to this because it shows that Truman isn't cast in the dramatic mold. But there is a more serious side. It seemed to indicate that Truman's imagination had got the better of him, for he had built the Persian story in answer to awed questions from the press. Former Secretary of State Byrnes in *Collier's* accused him of doing the same thing in respect to a supposed verbal spanking administered to him, Byrnes, after his return from Moscow. The Truman-Byrnes riddle remains unsolved. But there was no question about the press conference: Truman had botched a Big Moment.

The A-bomb has come to the battlefield and no mistake. The explosion of the latest one at Yucca Flat, Nev., blew old-fashioned, big-scale surface war out of the window. It means that armies can use the thing against each other if they are entrenched, but it means more and deeper entrenchment than ever before. It means mole-warfare. Baby A-bombs will be launched by guns, by guided missiles and by airplanes. Plans are being rushed. It should slow down armies. It should make invasions harder. Everybody talks about the coming "revolution" in war; few realize the revolution is already here.

America's allies are bitter at the way we are boosting tariffs through escape clauses in conventions negotiated with us in good faith by other nations; Belgium has retaliated by a counterboost, Holland will follow and so will others. No nation was ever losing so much good will for so little gain; for Europe a few cents on a US tariff means life or death.

Washington T.R.B.

CORRESPONDENCE

(Continued from page 2)

nations are fighting for any cause whatever, those who accord them any sympathy at all are automatically called friends. That is the grammar of colonial nationalism. It should be clear to France. The same is true of slogans heard in Egypt and elsewhere today. The United States should advise her allies, because continued conservative and obdurate and senseless colonial policies can negate everything that America has been striving to maintain. . . .

Hanover, N. H. CHIKWENOU NWARIAKU

What Price Freedom?

● Probably $2,295 is not an outlandish price to pay for freedom. Still it is doubtful if Harry W. Truitt Jr. of New Kensington, Pa., is overjoyed with the bill for court costs, even though it marks the end of a two-year battle against imprisonment, on a charge of assault and battery that arose out of the invasion of his home by a police captain who was looking for some pickets who had engaged in a street fight. The police captain claimed he was severely injured in a contest with Truitt when he attempted to use Truitt's telephone. In the subsequent trial, Truitt and his co-defendants were convicted and sentenced to four years in the Allegheny County Workhouse (See *NR*, Jan. 7).

After serving 10 months of this sentence, without income, and after selling all his dental laboratory equipment, household goods and clothing to raise money for his defense, Truitt now feels as free as an indentured servant.

The Pennsylvania State Supreme Court upheld him, called the four-year sentence in a simple assault and battery case "savagely vindictive"—and denounced the conduct of the lower court for admitting objectionable and irrelevant evidence about Truitt's associations with members of races other than Caucasian and with such organizations as the Progressive Party and the International Workers Order. They characterized the trial as the worst example of "rank injustice" and ordered a new trial and a change of venue (after the necessary and expensive legal work was attended to by Truitt's attorneys).

In the new trial at Ebensburg, Pa., in Cambria County, Judge John H. McCann allowed the Westmoreland County prosecutor none of the appeal to passion and prejudice that he had injected into the first trial. However, his insistence that this was "a trivial case," just simple assault and battery, and nothing to get excited about, worked a hardship on the defense. They were unable to cross-examine state witnesses about changes made in their testimony between the first trial and this one. "This isn't a homicide case," Judge McCann said. "Let's rest on what the witnesses testify to here."

The jury brought in a verdict of guilty for Truitt and his co-defendants. Judge McCann suspended sentence, but ordered the defendants to pay court costs of $2,295.

Pittsburgh, Pa. TERRY MILLER

The Vatican's Line

● Since when does Mr. J. M. Martinez become an authority upon the mind and policies of the Papacy? He writes (Letters, *NR*, April 21) with the assurance of one who has studied this question as it has developed down through the centuries. "Power, unlimited power" even in the secular field! Has Mr. Martinez studied the Concordat drawn up and agreed upon between the Papacy and the Government of Ecuador in 1862; better still, has he studied the provisions of the Concordat between the Papacy and the Government of Colombia of 1887? Has he read carefully and without a prejudiced mind the encyclical of Pope Leo XIII of 1891 called *Rerum Novarum* and that other of Piux XI of 1931 called *Quadragesimo Anno?* Has he studied the provisions of the Lateran treaties of 1929 between the Papacy and the Italian Government. Did the Papacy or Catholics make any fuss when Mark Clark was withdrawn as ambassador to the Vatican? Perhaps Mr. Martinez has in mind those popes of the Middle Ages who sought an exorbitant political power and whose policies according to modern standards are rightly to be condemned. If he wants men of secular power (not "unlimited," the word is absurd in this connection) he can find them in Stalin of Russia, Peron of Argentine, and Trujillo of the Dominican Republic. It is discouraging to find how many people there are who speak apodictically out of the depth of their ignorance and from minds warped by prejudice or bigotry, whereas what we all desire is the truth. With some, the more ignorant they are the more dogmatic they become.

San Francisco, Calif. PETER DUNNE, S.J.

Appreciation

● At recent meetings of our School Administrators Association, comments have been made relative to the types of magazines we are using in schools. . . . I am writing this to say that we appreciate your . . . magazine, enjoy the type of material you are presenting for public use and want to thank you for keeping your magazine on this high order.

Markesan, Wis. A. A. WIPPERMAN

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New Republic

STEEL AND THE PRESS

A standard charge of the Voice of Moscow is that there is no free press in America, that it is owned by great industrialists who control almost all newspapers through their stockholding and their advertising which covers the overhead costs.

Our Voice of America vigorously denies the accusation, and American newsmen habitually repudiate the charge. But the sad fact is that when a wage dispute involving heavy industry arose two weeks ago, the free press of America fell into line behind management and against labor and the federal government with a promptness and uniformity which to independent observers appeared more than dishonest. News magazines and radio reporters abandoned their sham of objectivity. Newspapers in the great majority failed to present the simple facts in the case. They editorialized in their news columns, and in their editorials discarded all pretense of fairness. American newspapers, from the smallest to the greatest, tumbled over themselves in their eagerness to demonstrate complete subservience to the line of the steel companies, as laid down by Inland Steel President Clarence Randall. Such terms as "illegal" and "unconstitutional" were flagrantly thrown about without regard to law or fact.

The following are some examples of the common distortions and misrepresentations, culled from nationally known papers and magazines, with the factual answers.

The Constitution plainly says that private property shall not be seized "without due process of law." Although previous seizures of property have occurred in recent years due to labor disputes, Congress in every single instance had already passed a law or laws specifically authorizing seizures. There is absolutely no precedent for the seizure of the steel industry by President Truman. – *David Lawrence, Washington Star, April 14, 1952.*

Only a decision of the Supreme Court of the US will finally determine whether the President's act is a "plain violation of the Constitution." The lower courts have already acknowledged the de-facto right of the action. The legal argument will probably range around Bill Five of the Bill of Rights which provides that "No person shall be . . . deprived of life, liberty or property without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation."

There has been "due process of law." Congress has yet to repeal the President's War Powers, most of which Congress gave him during World War II. There are 350 such powers now on the books. The steel industry is entitled to compensation for all damages suffered under the seizure as determined by the courts. The companies have not yet come forward with any claim.

Many other Presidents have done this, dating from the time of the Revolution. President James Madison seized the property of traders in the War of 1812 to keep it from falling to the enemy. President Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves took from many Americans what they considered their rightful "property." On 12 occasions before the War Labor Disputes Act of 1943 gave him the express power, President Roosevelt seized defense plants. Four of the seizures were prior to our entry into war. History is filled with such instances.

Had the Taft-Hartley Act been promptly invoked and been obeyed there would have been no interruption of steel production, even for a moment. The Act was specifically written, and overwhelmingly approved by Congress, precisely for use in such an emergency. – *Editorial, New York Times, April 10, 1952.*

Had the Taft-Hartley Act been promptly invoked and obeyed when the contract between the steel companies and the union expired on December 31, 1951, an injunction would have postponed the strike for 80 days and a fact-finding board would have made a report but no recommendations. A steel strike would now be in full swing. Instead, the President secured a voluntary postponement of 99 days and ordered a detailed fact-finding report by the Wage Stabilization Board which the unions accepted and the companies rejected. Invoking Taft-Hartley just prior to the steel strike, Sen. Wayne Morse (R, Ore.) has pointed out, would have required 10 days to three weeks for the essential preliminary procedures. Meanwhile, the blast furnaces would have cooled and vital steel production would have been lost.

The Taft-Hartley Act was never intended by Congress to be the sole means of handling disputes. Congress rejected mandatory words in the bill such as "shall" and substituted permissive words such as "may." Even after Taft-Hartley was passed, Congress authorized al-

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ternative methods of handling labor disputes affecting the defense program. The Selective Service Act is one example.

Actually, the government faction [public members] of the [Wage Stabilization] board was packed at least four to two with men who either had been full-time employees of the CIO or the AFL or were beholden to union leaders for part of their income. So, it was at least four pro-labor public members voting with labor's six against industry's six, plus possibly two other public members. – *Editorial, St. Louis* Globe-Democrat, *April 10, 1952.*

Not one public member of the WSB has ever been exclusively on either the CIO or the AFL payroll. Rather, four of the six members have served as impartial arbiters employed and paid jointly by both companies and the union. In most cases these are permanent arrangements. If any of these men had shown marked bias in favor of the union, the employers would have rejected them. They have not been rejected.

He [Truman] assailed current steel profits of $19.50 a ton without mentioning that profits after taxes amount to $6.83 a ton, that steel earnings were down 12 percent in 1951, below 1950; and that steel profits have a big role in financing the plant expansion asked by the Administration. – *Editorial of the Washington* Post, *April 19, 1952.*

Price Stabilizer Ellis Arnall, in a graphic report to a Senate committee, showed (using the industry's own figures) that whether steel profits are figured before or after taxes the major steel companies are not entitled to a price increase under the prevailing Industry Earnings Standard. Taxes are determined by total profits so that the margin of profits before taxes is the only accurate basis for calculation. Congress, itself, refused to allow taxes paid as a factor in determining the Bureau of Labor Statistics' Cost of Living Index. It is accepted practice to use the profits-before-taxes figure. Otherwise, the steel industry would be able to shift much of its tax burden, as determined by Congress, to taxpayers. By the same logic workers could demand wage increases because increases in taxes on cigarettes lower their retained earnings.

Of course, the industry had the prerogative of making sound investments for expansion, but it was further benefitted by a $1.5 billion accelerated amortization allowance for plant expansion which gave steel more tax write-offs than any other industry.

For if, without specific authorization by Congress, the President can seize the steel industry, he can seize all the corner grocery stores, all the shops and all the savings-bank deposits and hand them over to any pressure group he desires. – *David Lawrence, The Washington* Star, *April 21, 1952.*

Throughout our history, in periods of emergency, Presidents have been forced to rely on the inherent powers of their office for the safety and welfare of the nation as a whole. They have acted when Congress has been unwilling or unable to take proper action. Both the judiciary and the Congress are safeguards against unnecessary use of emergency and inherent powers. Seizing grocery stores, shops and savings deposits would most certainly fall into such a category. The unsubstantiated assertion that the President can "hand them over to any pressure group he desires," without full approval of Congress and the courts, is obviously unfounded.

There is only one alternative: Either we make it legally possible once more for a strike to be broken or we yield completely to constantly mounting union demands. There is no other alternative and no longer any excuse for believing there is one. – *Henry Hazlitt,* Newsweek, *April 21, 1952.*

Through the years collective bargaining has proved a successful method of settling labor-management differences, although it is the relatively rare failure of this method which most often reaches the headlines.

It seems questionable that we should sacrifice our defense program for the doubtful prerogative "of breaking a strike." Furthermore, in no instance did the government "yield completely" to either the union's demands or the companies' demands. Both were compromised. Further concessions are being made by both sides which should ultimately lead to a settlement. If the companies had made what is now their latest offer at the time of the expiration of the contract last December the entire dispute would probably be completely settled.

President Truman's seizure of the steel industry will probably go down in history as one of the most highhanded acts committed by an American President. . . . In short, he has grossly usurped the power of Congress, and in a constitutional democracy there is no more serious offense against good government. – *Editorial, the Washington* Post, *April 10, 1952.*

The same charges were leveled at other Chief Executives when they acted in an emergency. Usually Presidents are forced to use their inherent powers when Congress fails to act. Twice President Truman asked for specific legislation to handle the steel dispute, but didn't get it. He didn't "usurp" the power of Congress; he stepped into a vacuum left when Congress refused to act and now, again, has pleaded with legislators to accept their responsibilities. President Truman has acted responsibly, with full respect for constitutional democracy.

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THE WEEK

A CAUSE FOR THE RIGHT

Last February, Sen. John Bricker (R, Ohio) rose in the Senate to announce that he was about "to plug a growing loophole in the Constitution." The Senator, usually a leading oratorical supporter of the Constitution, made clear that he was casting no reflection on the document's writers. They were alert men, "but the menacing loophole we see in the Constitution today was simply not visible in 1787." What had brought the dangerous situation about? "The invention of novel theories of international law?" What had these theories produced? The proposed, and in Bricker's eye dangerous, Genocide and Human Rights covenants. To correct the situation Bricker introduced a constitutional amendment which would make the treaties inoperative as law in American courts.

Recently in Washington the advocates of legal internationalism and isolationism finally met almost head on. Speaking before the Society for International Law, Manley O. Hudson, former US judge on the World Court, sailed into Bricker and his backers. The resolution which Bricker and 55 other Senators introduced he denounced as "so badly drafted that its actual text hardly bears serious study." The intent behind their movement he found to be an effort to force the US back into its own legal shell at a time when countries like Canada and Holland are moving to amend their constitutions to make them fit in with working agreements hammered out around the international conference table.

But even as Hudson was presiding over his meeting, the legal isolationists were hard at work selling their line. Frank E. Holman, past president of the American Bar Association, just a few blocks away, was developing his ideas for an influential audience at the US Chamber of Commerce. His talk repeated charges previously made in the *American Legion Magazine*, when he called the Human Rights program "un-American" and linked the State Department in a plot with "every dictator" to abridge free speech and press. With Bricker selling his dubious amendment in the columns of the *Freeman* and Rep. John Wood (R, Idaho), urging the Daughters of the American Revolution to counter UN "plots" by pressing for US withdrawal from the group, the issue may pass from the hands of the legal technicians to become the next pet cause of the reactionaries.

PORK-BARREL VICTORY

President Truman last week once again surrendered to "the biggest lobby of them all"—the Army Engineers. Washington had been buzzing for two weeks with the news that he was about to take away the Army's civil functions through a reorganization plan when Truman tersely announced that the plan would not be sent. Reformers, remembering a pro-Missouri Valley Authority speech Truman was set to give one post-flood Tuesday in 1947 only to come out on Thursday for increased appropriations for his old friend, Gen. Lewis Pick, chief engineer, wondered just what had gone wrong this time. They knew that the Republican governors Truman met on his inspection tour of the flood area, who opposed the MVA, applauded the General.

But Truman did not surrender to Republican pressure. He didn't have to. His own Congressional leaders, when called for a White House conference, were unanimous in dire warnings that the reorganization plan would meet defeat, while further alienating the Southern bloc for whom "pork" is one of their few links to the Administration. Faced with the prospect of making still more enemies on the Hill, and with a fast developing power struggle among his own Fair Deal administrators, Truman took the easy way out. General Pick will keep on fighting the Missouri.

SECOND CHANCE FOR RFC

Should a government agency be abolished because it is proved that some of its officials have been guilty of corruption? This was the question that faced the Senate last week when it voted on reorganization for the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Led by Sen. Harry Byrd (D, Va.), the RFC's critics, who began howling for the agency's abolition long before last's years scandals, built up a solid phalanx of "Ayes." At one point in the debate a coalition of 35 Republicans and seven Democrats had—on paper—actually abolished the agency. But a quick rallying of Administration forces along with a rising feat on the part of some Republicans that actually doing away with the agency would harm their cause in an election year, led to a reversal of the vote, postponing the issue until June.

Leading the fight for retention of the agency was Sen. William Fulbright (D, Ark.), the same legislator who had been in charge of the corruption-finding committee. Fulbright pointed out that Byrd's and the Republicans' interest was less in doing away with corruption than in doing away with an available source of credit for small businessmen who could not deal with their local banks. Over the years 90 percent of the RFC's loans have been in amounts of less than $100,000, pointing up its concentration on small loans. Yet more to the point is the fact that almost all the RFC's present activities are in connection with defense-connected financing that would have to be continued under another agency if the RFC were abolished. In the last nine months, 74 percent of its lending has been under powers given it by the Defense Production Act. For a symbolic victory over the New Deal the Byrd-Republican coalition was willing to hamper this program, as well as to dislocate such RFC functions as disaster-relief, civilian-defense loans and government programs in the fields of synthetic rubber, tin and abaca production.

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WHERE ARE THE DEMOCRATS?

The Administration has lost several major legislative fights this year not because of the Southern-GOP coalition but because of absenteeism among the more liberal Northern Democrats in the House of Representatives. Speaker Sam Rayburn recently confided that he is angry about the apparent inability of the House leadership to keep its forces in Washington to vote on the few controversial issues that Congress has agreed to bring up this election year.

The Democrats, with a 32-member majority in the House, have suffered defeat by small margins on virtually all of the appropriation bills (notably flood control), federal judgeship appointments and a liberalized immigration measure. Even on the resolution by Rep. Eugene Cox (D, Ga.), creating a committee to investigate tax-exempt foundations to determine whether or not they are being used "for un-American and subversive" purposes the Democrats lost, although the Republicans were split almost 50-50 on the issue. Forty-seven Democrats were absent; the resolution passed by a 37-vote margin.

Congress traditionally keeps the number of roll-call votes down to a minimum during an election year. Members of the House, all of whom are up for re-election, spend as much time as possible fence-mending back home. But many who cannot claim difficult campaign opposition are among those absent. The long-weekend crowd, more often referred to as the "Thursday to Tuesday Club," are representatives from New York, Pennsylvania and New Jersey who divide the week between their farms or at home and Congress. They usually appear for the final roll-call vote on a measure; but while they are absent, opponents have a chance to get crippling amendments passed with little trouble.

Of the 435 members in the House, 232 are Democrats, 200 Republicans, one independent; there are two vacancies. Last week, the House passed one of the most important bills introduced this session—the Walter Omnibus Immigration bill—by a vote of 206 to 68; 161 members were absent. The measure, like its companion McCarran bill in the Senate, is filled with discriminatory provisions and packed with new grounds for deporting displaced persons and other immigrants admitted in past years. Rep. Emanuel Celler (D, N.Y.) waged a single-handed fight to eliminate some of the worst provisions. He was able to get a voice vote (aye and nay) on only two of his amendments, both defeated by pitifully small votes of 25 to 70 and 29 to 102, and the House refused to permit a roll-call vote on the final passage of the bill.

The Cox resolution, passed by a vote of 194 to 157, with 94 Democrats and 100 Republicans in favor of investigating foundations and 88 Democrats and 69 Republicans opposing the probe. Among the 47 Democrats who did not vote, six were from New York, three from Pennsylvania and four from Chicago.

The Federal Judgeship bill, a strictly party-line issue, was sent back to committee by an even smaller margin, 165 to 150. The Republicans, during debate on the measure, admitted that they opposed handing President Truman the plum of appointing 23 new judges. No one denied the dire need for more judges to speed up over-burdened judicial review which has threatened the human rights of people awaiting trial in criminal cases. The Democrats present urged that the question be argued above politics and reminded the opposition that the Senate could accept or reject any of the judges appointed—a sufficient deterrent against any excesses of which the President might be guilty. On the final roll-call vote, the Administration lost by 15 votes. Of those "not voting," 81 were Democrats and 35 Republicans. The 16 votes needed for passage could have been assured if only the five Democratic representatives from New York, eight from Pennsylvania and three from New Jersey, who were among the 47 Democratic absentees, had bothered to vote. "It is said justice is blind," Representative Celler declared. "She is depicted with a fold over her eyes. That is fortunate. I am sure she would not want to see this spectacle."

Unless the House leadership cracks the proverbial whip, the Administration can expect to continue suffering such losses as long as irresponsible Democrats leave the House in the hands of the GOP.

JEAN BEGEMAN

FOR COAL AND COUNTRY

A month ago the French and the Germans were reported finally ready to compromise their long feud over the Saar. Chancellor Konrad Adenauer and Foreign Minister Robert Schuman announced that they were finding a basis for settling the bitter dispute over whether the small coal-rich territory should be French, German or European. In Washington Dean Acheson cautiously hailed the statements. Anne O'Hare McCormick, foreign commentator for the New York *Times*, wrote a rapturous column which praised the manner in which the apparent rapprochement surmounted seemingly insurmountable differences. But the same issue of the *Times* that carried her column on the editorial page carried a late, front-page news story which reported a violent reversal of the hopeful trend.

Another one of those public quarrels after an apparently satisfactory meeting of minds, which are so characteristic of French-German relations, broke out even before the good news could be disseminated. Within hours, Bonn and Paris were again accusing each other of distorting the significance of the slim agreement. Last week, with the final signing of the Western-German contractual agreement and the European Army treaty negotiations only a few weeks off, matters became even worse. Adenauer, who had guided the Bonn parliament away from violent gestures during 13 Saar debates in the last two and a half years, surrendered during the fourteenth debate. After the Bundestag had passed a resolution declaring the Saar incontestably German, Adenauer declared that, in view of the present French attitude, no further negotiations can be held.

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PINAY: FRANCE'S STABILIZER

IT MAY SEEM presumptuous, if not worse, to draw a parallel between an obscure French businessman and a great American soldier on whom the whole world's attention is now focused. Yet Antoine Pinay and Dwight Eisenhower have something in common: each has friends, followers and supporters who consider him—in quite different ways—the potential savior of his country.

A large number of Republicans, and some Democrats too, have been pleased by General Eisenhower's decision to shift the base of his political operations. And a much smaller, though not inconsequential, number of democrats (with a small d) have also been pleased because Pinay appears to have found the means of continuing his at his present stand in the Matignon Palace. The successes of the French Premier have been generally hailed with relief, if not enthusiasm, by the American press. They are taken as auguring—at long last—the kind of governmental stability and popular confidence which the French democracy needs in order to get on with the job of supporting America in building the Atlantic position of strength.

So far as it goes, the interpretation can be justified. Yet, from the point of view of democrats in France and in Western Europe generally, it does not go far enough. As there are questions among American democrats about what Eisenhower really stands for in domestic policy, so are there questions over here about where Pinay is going politically both at home and abroad.

The successes of M. Pinay are also victories in the struggle of the French "classical" Right to seize power at the expense not only of the Communists and of the Gaullist totalitarian Right but also of the authentically democratic elements of the Third Force. (See: "Europe Likes Ike," *NR*, April 14.) The London *Times* points out that Pinay has split the Third Force:

> The Socialists have gone into opposition, and the Gaullists, disregarding the instructions of their leader, have either supported the government or abstained. General de Gaulle may not have saved France for the sake of M. Pinay—a phrase he is reported to have used recently—but his supporters have certainly saved him.

The *Observer* of London notes that though Pinay also lost the support of the Catholic trade unions represented by the left-wing of the Popular Republicans, he made up for these losses by obtaining the sustained support of Conservative and traditional elements in the Gaullist party. It comments:

> The Third Force, which in various shapes and forms has been governing France for five years, has finally gone out, not with a bang but with a whimper. . . . Far from being just another Cabinet shuffle, M. Pinay's advent marks a break with the past: a shift. . . . away from the builders of the postwar Welfare State, away from the initiators of a controlled economy . . . away from the experimenters who came out of Resistance and Liberation believing in "the brave new world" but never quite got the French community to pay for it.

There is another shift too that is now taking place in France. It is among French Catholics, and away from the liberal tradition of democratic social justice, toward a rigid, reactionary orthodoxy, using McCarthy methods. The *Monde* of Paris recently published an interview with a highly placed member of the French hierarchy (who withheld his name) saying:

> The situation of Christian intellectuals is daily becoming more uncomfortable. . . . Analyses, researches or initiatives attempted in France to build a bridge across the broadening abyss between the Church and the modern world are often accused of doctrinal, juridical or social modernism and finally discredited, if not even condemned. . . . Many believe that a day will come—too late—when it will be seen that the best servers of the Church have been discouraged.

Nor is it only in France that the enemies of a new world of humane progress—whether or not brave—are rising. The meeting of Spain's Franco with Portugal's Salazar is a straw in the wind. The real purpose of Britain's "guarantee" of the continental NATO countries (which really adds nothing to the military pattern of alliances) is to give "moral" and psychological support to Germany's Adenauer against the growing strength of a far Right which, more than in France, fuses the traditional and totalitarian currents.

All this might have relatively little bearing on an American public opinion perhaps willing to accept a trend toward the Right in Europe as the necessary price for the stability needed for effective support of American policy in Europe if not for the fact that a position of strength for the Right is not automatically such a position for American policy. For, as the Right feels its growing power in a country like France, its trend curiously resembles some aspects of Bevanism.

The *Figaro* of Paris, an organ of the forces which support M. Pinay, has shifted from its almost slavish support of American foreign policy to fairly open criticism of Washington's reluctance to negotiate with the Soviets. While the London *Times* carefully suggests, in connection with the German situation, that "The Western Powers have nothing to lose by putting Russian intentions to the test," the *Figaro* quotes with apparent favor "certain anti-Communist intellectual circles" in the US as believing that American foreign policy is "calcified" and suggesting that "it will be outflanked as most permanent fortifications have been in the course of history."

The simple meaning is that M. Pinay's friends, now that they feel they are on the way to "stable" power in France, believe also that the international crisis is less critical—for *them* and for *their* France. Perhaps they are right. Perhaps too the Right in France and elsewhere in Western Europe can do the Bevanite de-calcifying of American foreign policy better than the Bevanites themselves.

Paris PERCY WINNER

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INDIA: THE COMMUNIST THREAT GROWS

by Krishnalal Shridharani

IN THE Indian State known as Pepsu, within reach of Chinese arms, the Communist Party has formed a ministry with the aid of the Akali Sikhs. Southward, in Madras, another united-front majority endangers Nehru's rule. The Communists, in their new role as leaders of the legal opposition to Nehru, are attempting to bring non-Congress parties into line in other states. These are the first fruits of India's bold venture in democracy.

It is hoped here that the Communist victories have quickened the realization in America that it is now or never for democracy in Asia. America must act if India is not to go the way of China.

Nehru seems also to know this. He has been thawing at long last in his attitude toward America, and hardening toward China which Russia uses as her cat's- paw in Delhi. Thanks to the Indian Communists, Americans are beginning to be popular with Nehru and the small elite that forms public opinion.

The Russians in turn seem to sense their opportunities. They have begun to back India on the Kashmir question in the UN Security Council. At the same time, they are intensifying their pressure on Nepal from Tibet, on the Indo-Burma border from China and on the Congress Party within India. Jubilant because the first threat to the Congress monopoly in India has come from the Communists and not from a rival middle party, Russian propagandists condemn the Congress Party and all moderates for advocating economic policies predicated on dependence on America and praise the Communists as the only group which offers a national policy.

In one sense, the Russian reaction is sound. A study of the election manifestos of the various parties shows that the voters had, by and large, only one alternative to the Congress program—the Communist ideology. Other parties distinguished themselves from the Congress by slight variations here and there. The Congress stood for a Secular State which would discard considerations of religion, caste and class. Socialists, the KMP Group (Kisan, Mazdur, Praja, meaning "peasant, worker, people"), the Forward Blocists and others pictured a similar dream. The Congress advocated a mixed public and private economy in its 500-word manifesto.

Practically all parties, barring the Communists, broadly agreed. The Congress advocated agrarian reforms by abolishing the zamindari system after paying some compensation to the landlords. Here, too, as in foreign policy, there was a vast area of agreement among all the middle parties. Of course, there were differences. The Socialists advocated abolition of the zamindari system *without* compensation to the landlord, and wider nationalization. The KMP Party talked a little more about the Gandhian way. The Hindu Mahasabha pledged to reunite India by bringing back Pakistan and called for a way of life in accordance with "the Hindu conception of polity and economy." The scheduled Castes Federation advocated birth control, suggested a partition of Kashmir and took up the cudgel against Nehru for his championship of China, advocating a closer alliance with America. Yet, all the play for nuances left the voters cold about the middle parties.

A clear alternative to the Congress came from the Communist Party. Its platform included confiscation of land without compensation; the scrapping of the existing Constitution and the setting up of a new Constituent Assembly; a freely elected Parliament with the right to recall ensured to the electorate; the confiscation of British capital; and severance of Commonwealth connections. It held forth Moscow as an alternative to Washington.

The voters gave the Congress Party 43 percent of the total ballots. Yet it emerged as the majority party in the Central Parliament and in almost every state. They gave the Communist Party of India only five percent of the total votes, yet it made striking advances in key states. Independents received around 16 percent of votes, and other middle parties like the Socialist and the KMP 11 and 6 percent. Yet the total numbers of candidates returned indicated the elimination of middle parties and the juxtaposition of the Congress and the Communists.

Out of 3,279 representatives elected to the various State Legislative Assemblies, 2,248 were returned on the Congress ticket, while the Communists were able to send 147. One hundred and twenty-four Socialists and 77 KMP representatives have been elected all over India. Not only at the Centre, but also in four State Assemblies, the Communists have emerged as the largest opposition bloc.

If the Communists gain and hold power in one or more state ministries the principle of federalism will be put on trial. They do not represent mere political opposition within the federal framework. They are at war with the framework itself. Like their Chinese comrades 20 years ago they will turn the states they control into Indian Yenans—bases for military and propa-

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ganda operations across the whole subcontinent.

In one sense the Communists have already succeeded. The political issue in India is whether a given party is capable of becoming the ruling party. Once that possibility is proved, the people tend to rally round it, driven by ambition and opportunism rather than idealism and conviction. That may now happen with the Communists, who, next to the Congress are taken most seriously in the wake of the election.

The new situation is imperceptibly changing the mind and the face of the ruling party. Nobody accuses Nehru of conservatism, and there are many persons of his dynamic persuasion in the Congress. Yet the force of circumstances will slowly drive the Congress further and further to the Right; the main preoccupation will be with fighting Communism. Unwelcome allies will come forward and they will be accepted. The Hindu Mahasabha has called the people to halt the march of the "alien cult" of Communism. The Rajasthan Landlords' Party is brandishing its sword in the same direction. It may be that the Congress will fall under the Rightists.

That is the challenge India now presents. A pre-election prediction was that the leadership of the middle class, as represented by the Congress for the last 50 years, would continue in the form of a balance between the Congress and its offshoots. Instead, the election has proved that the middle class, which forms the backbone of democracy in the West, is not a sound center force. It was born in India during World War I. It was all but wiped out after World War II. In the Punjab it was uprooted by partition. In Gujarat it was sapped by soaring prices. Other provinces of India have no middle class to boast of. India is a country of vast contrasts and extremes; so the struggle for power in India tends to become one between two extremes. In England and in America the political balance is maintained by two middle parties which differ largely in the tempo of the reforms they advocate. Such an evolution may prove impossible in India. In England and in America, the issue is for or against the Welfare State and not against Communism as such. If the elections have proved anything, it is that India, despite the Congress vision of a Welfare State, cannot be galvanized by such a middle-class concept. The lack of the visible objectives of gradualism led the voters to reject legitimate reform parties. In sharp contrast was the appeal to "direct action" made by the Communists who advocated confiscation of land and property. The violence of the Communists was, perhaps, new to Indian masses, but "direct action" was not. In fact, under Mahatma Gandhi, they had developed the habit of regarding direct action as a legitimate method of social change.

BUND RULE IN SOUTH AFRICA

by Paul Huguenet

DR. J. J. DE VOS is a minister of the same tough Calvinistic sect which Daniel Malan, the Union's prime minister, once served before he became first a newspaper editor and then a politician. Several weeks ago this predikant set South Africa back on its heels by attacking his own fellow-ministers, who have long served as the backbone of Malan's Nationalist Party. Many of the Reformed Church preachers, de Vos charged, had entered into a brazen alliance with the pernicious racist Broederbond, a secret political society, to place themselves at the head of a new ruling elite.

Brought to a head in the controversy over Malan's attempt to overrule the South African Supreme Court; which declared that his attempt to disenfranchise the Cape Colony's mulattos is in violation of the country's organic law, the conflict between the clerical-Nationalist majority and the more moderate Union party and its sympathizers among the non-white population of South Africa has been brewing for a long time. Malan has now announced that he will seek to abrogate the judiciary's constitutional review powers by placing them in the hands of a parliamentary committee.

Paul Huguenet is a pen name of a South African journalist and author.

Shocking as this proposal is, it but follows the pattern employed by the Nationalist majority in throttling the opposition during the early weeks of the dispute. The opposition leader, J. G. N. Strauss, twice tried to introduce a motion to debate the Malan policy and twice was ruled out of order by the chair. At that point in the debate, the House, obedient to earlier agreement, adjourned in order to attend the celebrations on the Capetown foreshore which honored the tercentenary of the white man's coming to South Africa. The main feature of the occasion was a talk by the Chief Justice, lauding the country's great heritage of "individual freedom and the rule of law."

In contrast to the Chief Justice's oration, de Vos's speech came like a breath of icy, Antarctic realism. He stated that 1,000 political Dutch-reformed predikants, many of them members of the Broederbond, were ruling South Africa from behind the scenes. They changed governments and cabinets, he said, and had transformed the Dutch Reformed Church into a "lethal political machine" complete with cells in industry, trade, schools, synods and the Civil Service, with the main purpose of Afrikanerising the country and turning it into a re-

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public in which all the power would be concentrated in a "Herrengroep."

De Vos is not the first speaker to make these exposures, although he is certainly the first predikant ever to do so. Gen. J. B. M. Hertzog, a former prime minister, said of the Bond and Malan, an old and valued member:

> Dr. Malan became a member of the Bond at the time of fusion (1933). . . . His membership in this anti-English movement of necessity compelled him to depart from the policy of national unity, which includes the English-speaking Afrikaner. . . . When will that foolish, fatal idea cease to exist among our people [the Afrikaner Volk] to think that they are the people chosen by the gods to rule over others?

Gen. J. C. Smuts, another Boer prime minister, in 1944, called the Bond "a dangerous, cunning, political, Fascist organization of which no civil servant, if he is to retain his loyalty to the state and administration, can be allowed to be a member." Dr. Malan's Nationalist Party rescinded this ruling after it had come into power in 1948. Malan's cabinet included five "Broers" (Brothers) besides himself.

The Bond began in 1914 after a rebellion started by some disgruntled Afrikaner leaders, who did not wish to fight against Germany, had been quelled and some of them imprisoned. Its long-term aim, from which it has never wavered, is the complete Afrikanerization of South Africa, a policy which depends for its success on the gradual stultification of the English-speaking section as a significant element in the educational, religious, economic and political life of the country. This is a tall order, but in its 40 years of existence the Bond has made heavy inroads on all fronts.

Its main technique is the familiar one of infiltrating into key positions. This has not been difficult in government departments which have always been much more heavily staffed by Afrikaan-speaking South Africans than by English-speaking ones. In industry and trade the Broederbond promoted its own banks, chambers of industry and shops where an "Afrikaners Preferred" creed is practiced. One of its largest creations, the Federation of Afrikaans Cultural Unions, embraces some 150 independent Afrikaans cultural societies, 25 union-wide societies, the Economic Institute, the Afrikaans Chamber of Commerce, the Institute of National Welfare, a Historical Commission and the Institute of Teachers Organizations. It has inspired a powerful dissident movement among white gold miners in the Rand and helped to split the Trades and Labour Council (the governing body of the main trade unions) on the racial issue of the admission of non-white members.

On the scholastic side its blueprint for education—Christian-National education as it calls itself—is, in one critic's view, "Hitler's youth movement dressed up in the white ties and black cloth of the Dutch Reformed Church." Under this system—the only one favored in the future Republic—children will be "molded." The teacher will be watched by the parents and the minister, and the children can be required to keep an eye on their parents.

Dr. Malan's ostensible reason for bringing in the act which places 40,000 colored voters (men only) in the Cape Province on a separate roll instead of the common franchise list which they had enjoyed since 1854 was that "politically the European population of the Western province is falling more and more into the stranglehold of the non-European population." Easily available statistics show this to be false. The simple truth is that these non-white voters have a decisive influence in only four or five seats in the Cape. Malan plans a further political consolidation by wiping out the present three Members of Parliament for the Union's 9.5 million Negroes. (The 2.5 million whites elect the other 150 members.) Their elimination will still further strengthen Nationalist control of the House.

The United Party and its militant junior supporter, the War Veterans Torch Commando, are fighting Malan's campaign tooth and nail. The African National Congress (the main organization of Negroes) and the S. A. Indian Congress, held meetings in Capetown, Johannesburg, Durban and other centers on Sunday, April 7, at which a program of action was announced. This would begin by selecting volunteers in the bigger cities who would be asked to defy certain laws. (Manilal Gandhi, son of the Mahatma, has done this several times without causing any European South African to lose a wink of sleep.) The second stage would be to call for volunteers in the remaining cities and towns to do likewise, and the third phase would be mass action in defiance of unjust laws.

If the African National Congress and its associated non-European organizations had the membership and the cohesive drive of the once-famous Industrial and Commercial Workers Union of the 1920s, these threats might well give pause to the nation's present law-makers. But the non-whites suffer from internal division, poor leadership and lack of the strategic "know-how." Moreover, they are always in danger of consolidating European opinion the moment they show active dislike of the system that rules them. It must be recognized that traditionally South Africa has always believed that all political power must be vested in the hands of the whites.

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JUDGE WARING MOVES NORTH

by Bruce Bliven

NEW YORK CITY has a distinguished new resident. He is Judge J. Waties Waring, of Charleston, South Carolina, who recently retired from the Federal District Court for Eastern South Carolina, after 10 years' service, and came to the metropolis to live.

Although Judge Waring was subjected to extraordinary social pressure in South Carolina, as I shall relate in a moment, he is not running away from the South. On the contrary, he has retired from the bench and come North in order to carry on even more effectively the crusade in which he has already been so useful, for justice and equality before the law for the Negro; now he can speak unhampered by reservations forced on him by cases pending before his court.

Judge Waring, a tall, dignified man, now 71, smooth-shaven, ruddy of complexion and slow of speech, has always belonged, by both antecedents and his own character and attainments, to the top rank of Charleston society. Before he went on the federal bench, he had had an honored career in the community, having been graduated from the College of Charleston, and served in the city for seven years as an Assistant US Attorney and for nine years as Corporation Counsel, with a successful practice as an attorney in the intervals between public office.

In 1947 and '48 Judge Waring handed down a group of orders and decisions, completely in line with previous rulings of the US Supreme Court, holding that Negroes were entitled to membership in the South Carolina Democratic Party and to vote in its primary elections. "It should be unnecessary," he said in one decision, "to state that in this country of ours no racial distinction or discrimination can be made in an election for the choosing of Presidential electors and our representatives in the national Congress."

Overnight, Judge Waring and his attractive, youthful wife were subjected to a remarkable degree of social ostracism. From that day until a few weeks ago when he sold his home in the select neighborhood of Meeting Street and moved away, no member of Charleston or South Carolina society ever crossed his doorstep. The Warings were forced to resign from every club and society of which they were members, usually not through any overt act but by being given to understand they would not be welcome, that if they entered a room, everyone else in it would leave. Night after night the telephone would ring and anonymous callers would pour out a stream of filthy abuse. Some of the bolder spirits would ring the doorbell, shout a few obscenities, and then scuttle away into the darkness where they so rightly belonged.

This feeling of course was not unanimous. The Warings got many expressions of quiet sympathy from white South Carolinians below the level of the "leaders," from artisans, small businessmen and workers. As for the state's Negroes, my information, from independent sources, is that most of them worship the ground the Judge walks on.

How did a Southerner born and bred come to embrace such novel ideas as that the Constitution meant what it said, and that American citizens are entitled to its full protection here and now, not in some far-off happy day of pie in the sky? Judge Waring freely admits that in his youth he did not think very deeply about these matters; he was inclined, on the whole, to take the attitude of most Charlestonians that the South knows best how to handle the Negro problem, that the Negro just wants white people to be nice to him, instead of a mess of those nasty old legal rights—and all the rest of the racist rigamarole. It was not until he got deep into court work in Charleston, and especially as a member of the bench, that he began to realize what was actually going on.

There he suddenly came up against a very different figure of the Negro from smiling old Uncle Tom, bowing and scraping to the white folks, and genial Aunt Chloe toting from the kitchen. He found Negroes burning with a sense of injustice, even though they were usually afraid to indicate it. He saw court procedures in which they were systematically excluded from juries, and in which, just as systematically, any Negro presumptuous enough to bring into court a case against a white man was almost sure to lose it. He came to the conviction that there is no difference in principle between treatment of the Negro in the South and treatment of the Jew in Nazi Germany.

Slowly, as a result of all these things, Judge Waring began to develop the hatred for "gradualism" and the gradualists which is a profound part of his philosophy today.

He expressed some of that philosophy vigorously, not only in his famous 1947-'48 decisions, but in June, 1951, in what is popularly called the Clarendon case. In this a group of Negroes, backed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, brought suit in Clarendon County for the admission of Negro children to white schools. (In any case challenging the constitutionality of a state law, the argument is

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heard by three judges, one of whom must be a US Circuit judge and the other two can be and usually are district judges.) Judge Waring expressed his current philosophy vigorously in his dissenting opinion, when he said:

> If they [the Negro plaintiffs who were demanding access to white schools] are entitled to any rights as American citizens, they are entitled to have these rights now and not in the future.

The defendants, local school authorities, had argued that the existing Negro schools constituted educational facilities "separate but equal." Judge Waring riddled this argument when he pointed out that it would cost $40 to $80 million merely to bring the physical plant of South Carolina Negro schools up to the level of the white schools.

But in any case, Judge Waring argued, "segregation is per se inequality." He recalled the lesson of the notable series of US Supreme Court decisions on parallel problems:

> In the Sweatt case, it was clearly recognized that a law school for Negro students had been established and that the Texas courts had found that the privileges, advantages and opportunities offered were substantially equivalent to those offered to white students at the University of Texas. Apparently, the Negro school was adequately housed and staffed and offered full and complete legal education, but the Supreme Court clearly recognized that education does not alone consist of fine buildings, classroom furniture and appliances but that included in education must be all the intangibles that come into play in preparing one for meeting life. . . . Racial prejudice is something that is acquired, and that acquiring is in early childhood. . . . If segregation is wrong then the place to stop it is in the first grade and not in graduate colleges.

This case came to trial only a few weeks after Gov. James F. Byrnes had publicly threatened that if segregated schools were abolished, South Carolina "will abandon the public-school system." The other two judges voted against the Negroes; the case is now before the US Supreme Court. Whatever happens, Judge Waring feels that with this case, his work in the South is ended. If the Supreme Court supports his dissent, another important basis for segregation will be gone. If it does not, at least the whole country will have a chance to learn the medievalism of the typical white Southern mind.

Judge Waring is not impressed by threats like that of Governor Byrnes. He recalls that before his famous white-primary decision, people in Charleston said "blood would flow in the streets" if he acted to enfranchise the state's Negroes. He went ahead, and no blood flowed. In fact, today the same people who were so violently against the decision when it was made, proudly boast that Negroes vote in South Carolina, just as, all over the South, they now refer proudly to the presence of Negroes in the law schools of half a dozen states which a few years ago did everything possible to keep them out.

Judge Waring's opposition to gradualism can be summed up in a few words.

The gradualists talk in favor of reform, but in fact they never act at all until they are pushed into it by the anti-gradualists—including the US Supreme Court.

The gradualists are so plausible that they keep many true democrats, both North and South, from getting actively into the fight, where they are needed.

The gradualists deceive some of the Negroes themselves into sitting passively and waiting for advances which, if the gradualists have their way, will be postponed almost indefinitely.

Judge Waring feels a sense of great urgency in the fight against discrimination; apart from everything else, he doesn't believe we have time to wait for the gradualists. As everyone knows, our American democracy is engaged in a great worldwide competition for men's minds, against Russian Communism. The fact that we preach one thing in the Constitution and practice another—not only in the South but in varying degrees throughout the whole country—is one of the chief propaganda weapons that the Russians have against us, and they are using it, throughout the world, with deadly effect.

For this reason he is doubly perturbed at the present activities of the Dixiecrats. Today they are in a painfully good position, perhaps good enough to influence the party platform of one or both of the two chief parties this year. He does not share the common opinion that nobody cares or remembers what is in a party platform. On the contrary, he feels that a good platform helps good men in office to continue to be good; they can point out that their party is bound by its public statements. Contrariwise, a bad platform helps bad men to be even worse.

To say that Judge Waring is in retirement is to express only a half truth. Since he came to New York he has been snowed under with invitations to speak and write, and work in every other way, with many groups that are fighting the battle against discrimination. The Judge, as vigorous at 71 as many men who are 20 years his junior, accepts as many of these invitations as he reasonably should, and perhaps more. He feels that there is no service a patriotic citizen can perform that is of more value in the present crisis than helping make America's actions square with her protestations of justice and equality for all.

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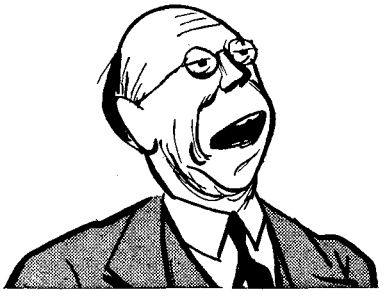
CONSECRATED TORY—ROBERT A. TAFT

V. The Poor Are Always With Us

ROBERT A. TAFT'S social philosophy springs directly from his Episcopalian prayer book—First Corinthians, Chapter 13, Verse 13 (King James Version): "And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three; but the greatest of these is charity." Taft's charity toward the underlings in our society is real and deep. He takes it for granted that, in the capitalist society he believes in, the poor will always be with us. He concludes that relief for those who cannot make the grade is the price a self-regulating competitive system must pay to prevent the advance of Socialism. In an address before the National Association of Real Estate Boards in Cincinnati, November 16, 1951, Taft argued:

Socialism has only one appeal. It says to the less fortunate members of the population that they will be raised up to a full equality with all the others. It is not emphasized to all the others that they will be pulled down, but that is the inevitable result. We have had an American system of meeting the hardship and poverty of those at the bottom of the ladder, whether because of misfortune or their own fault. . . .

I have therefore frequently supported federal aid to the states and localities. . . . I believe the federal government does have an interest in seeing that this general function is adequately performed, or is at least not hampered by the limited facilities of states to levy taxes. . . .



However there are dangers in charity which Taft is quick to point out. He adds:

If these activities are not going to degenerate into Socialism, however, certain principles are essential:

1. There must be an absolute prohibition of federal regulation and control, except to see that the aid is spent for the general purposes for which it is given. . . .

2. The aid must not go to people who are able to pay for such services themselves. . . .

This formula, and the pressures of vested interests, have brought Taft to oppose most of the major social programs of the last 20 years.

Thus the Senator's National Health Act, which he introduced in several past sessions of Congress, provided federal and state aid to the "needy." But it made available just $200,000 a year—a sum which one medical authority estimated would be enough for one X-ray of one finger per year for each of the 28 million people whom Taft claimed his bill would help. The bill stipulated that care be given only to those willing to apply publicly for relief. Presumably Taft now feels that even such limited aid as this would be a dangerous step, for he did not reintroduce his health bill in the 82nd Congress and, according to his office, has no present plans to do so.

With the exception of the American Medical Association hierarchy, no one denies that today there is a shortage of doctors, dentists and nurses in the US. The deans of the nation's 72 medical schools have unanimously supported a measure providing federal aid to medical colleges, all of which are operating at a loss and many with inadequate facilities. On March 12, 1951, Taft told his Senate colleagues that the bipartisan Health Training Act "is of such importance that . . . in nearly every speech I made in Ohio [during his 1950 re-election campaign], I advocated the passage of this bill. . . ." On October 2, however, when the bill was brought to the floor, Senator Taft suddenly reversed his position. Brushing aside the demand of the military for more doctors for the armed forces, Taft stated that he felt the government was spending so much that we could not afford $300 million more to expand medical schools. The next week another reason for Taft's turnabout appeared. The AMA directed a letter to all its members saying: "We believe your interest will be best served by the nomination and election of Robert A. Taft as President of the United States. . . ." It was signed by Dr. Harry M. Hedge, Chairman, Medical Committee of the Draft Taft Club for America.

Although Senator Taft has repeatedly stated that the federal government should aid education in states with less than the average income for the nation, he has consistently pushed roadblocks in the path of necessary legislation. In 1943, when the Senate was ready to pass a federal-aid-to-education bill, Taft injected the Jim Crow issue. He remarked:

It occurs to me that once the federal government goes into the question of white and colored schools we shall never stop. We shall go on until we require every state to permit colored and white children to go to the same schools.

Needless to say, enough Southerners and Taft Re-

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publicans joined together to defeat the bill. In 1945, when the Senate was considering the same question again, Taft repeated his support for the federal-aid principle and then proceeded to inject the religious issue: "The danger of federal control of education policy appears clearly in the controversy now going on regarding private and parochial schools." Again the measure was defeated.

Taft's unbending determination not to permit government assistance in any form to the upper four-fifths of the population led him even to fight against hot lunches for school children. When the issue came up in the Senate in 1944, he flatly opposed it, explaining that "the program is not confined to poor children."

Today, because of inadequate school facilities and the critical shortage of teachers, rising out of the failure of the legislation which Taft was instrumental in killing, the US Bureau of the Census estimates that nearly four million children between the ages of five and 17 are not enrolled in any school. Of those who are in school, about 400,000 elementary- and secondary-school pupils are being taught in substandard school buildings by teachers who are not fully qualified.

Taft's success in beating down much social legislation in the Senate has resulted from his strong alliance with the Southerners. For them, in turn, Taft has been the savior in defeating such measures as a strong FEPC and abolition of the poll tax. Taft admits that there is economic discrimination against the Negro in this country, but he has insisted that the federal government should take no part in correcting it. "I say again that the function of government in this respect is largely negative and defensive," Taft told the Senate on March 2, 1939, "If we are seeking progress toward a higher civilization, then the colored people, like the white people, must look more to their own initiative and their own efforts, assisted but not controlled by their government." And, "If they run up against a stone wall in some fields," he added on February 9, 1946, "it is better for them to go around it than by main force to beat down human prejudices which have existed from the beginning of time, and are likely to continue to exist.

And yet there are many Republican Party supporters who consider Robert A. Taft a wild-eyed radical. Herbert U. Nelson, while he was Executive Vice-President of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, was quoted as saying that "Senator Taft is following the Communist Party lines through his excursion into Socialism in housing. . . . "

Here Taft stoutly defends his support of public housing as essential charity. "The government will never get out of the business of housing any more than it will get out of the field of free medical care for the needy," Taft told a group of Ohio real-estate men who had been disconcerted by his stand. "But," he added, "it is a charity field and should be kept there."

Taft has consistently followed his own prescription and has only once failed to support public-housing and slum-clearance programs for the poorest 10 percent of American families. That was in 1948 when the Senator voted for an amendment offered by Joe McCarthy which would have eliminated slum clearance and public housing from the Taft-Ellender-Wagner housing bill. This is the only time that the National Housing Conference has had a fundamental difference with Taft, who is a member of the liberal organization. Lee F. Johnson, Executive Vice-President of the NHC, is strong in praise of Taft's role. "If it hadn't been for Senator Taft," Johnson says, "the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill just could not have been passed. He brought needed support which no one else could have brought." Johnson recalled the time in 1939, shortly after Taft came to the Senate, when he and the then Housing Administrator, Nathan Strauss, called on the Senator to explain the urgent need for low-cost public housing and slum clearance and to solicit his support. Taft listened carefully. He admitted that the problem was critical but thought that such programs were ominous invasions of the private enterprise field. But he promised to study the matter. Two years later he was lending his name to the legislation; he explained to Johnson, "I tried my best to find another answer, but I just don't think there is another."

Even so, Taft draws the line at public housing for the middle-income group. The fact that less than 24 million of the 46 million families in this country had an income in 1950 which the US Bureau of Labor Statistics considered "modest and adequate" did not persuade Taft that his rule of thumb, drawing the line for federal assistance at the lowest 10 percent of the population, needed upward revision.

Taft, the realist he prides himself on being, has given de facto recognition to the American labor movement. His concern has been to pin labor down in the narrow niche he has constructed for it in his social pattern. Taft's ideas are exact as to the boundaries within which the unions should keep. They should be restricted in this respect, unrestricted in that. His effort, in hundreds of hours of argument on the Senate floor, has always been to hem labor in, and to limit labor's effectiveness at the bargaining table. It is difficult to find the slightest indication in the countless pages

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of Taft's speeches of a comprehension of the objectives and aspirations of the millions of men and women who make up organized labor. It is rarely, if ever, that he speaks of the constructive accomplishments of the labor movement. If he is aware of the facts, they are buried far back in his mind as he doggedly continues the legalistic game of privileges and denials. In Taft's economy, labor exists for the benefit of business and thrives through its initiative. He told the Senate in 1944:

> If business is to grow, we must try in every possible way to reduce regulation. The only regulation that seems necessary is that relating to labor and the rules that are advisable to keep competition open. In short, we must change our whole attitude of suspicion toward the businessman and his profits.

This is the nineteenth century concept that the rights of labor are conditioned by the health of business, that business merits almost complete freedom, that the individual himself, unless he falls in the pauper category of the lowest 10 percent, should receive no minimum guarantee from his government. In 1946, Taft expressed it in this way:

"The difficulty with the definition 'sufficient to maintain the wage earner and his family on a reasonably adequate standard of living' in many cases is that it might represent far more than the productive contribution made by the particular employee."

Basic to this view is the belief that business merits almost complete freedom. Thus, if the state intervenes, it is ultimately to uphold corporate power. "We cannot make it illegal for a man merely not to work," Taft says. "We cannot enjoin him to go back to work. We can enjoin him from taking any steps to promote a strike, either individually or in groups."

Taft to his credit, is not always on the employers' side. He led the opposition to President Truman's proposal to draft striking railroad workers in 1946; his concern, however, was less sympathy for the workers' grievances than a consistent antagonism to federal intervention.

Taft's early years in the Senate were devoted to posting "do not trespass" signs around the economy labeled, "Labor—this means you." But with the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act in 1947, Senator Taft gained general credit for having formulated an explicit and positive labor policy of his own. The Act, with its requirements for non-Communist oaths and financial reports, is a curious departure from Taft's general philosophy of non-intervention. In fact it compelled intervention of the worst and most unworkable kind.

The Act remains in effect, but is rarely enforced in key disputes. In other industries it is disregarded by mutual agreement of employers and workers. It has cost labor few members, but it has brought to a standstill major organizing drives. With the support of some liberal Senators, Taft has stricken the provision requiring union-shop elections, which reflected his earlier conviction that given the opportunity American workers would repudiate their trade unions. More recently he has introduced an amendment which would, in effect, guarantee the closed shop to the building and construction trades.

The building and construction industry found certain sections of the Taft-Hartley Act unworkable, and changes were needed. Why Taft introduced, almost unchanged, an amendment, prepared by Richard Gray, the AFL Building Trades President, which so completely violates cherished Taft principles makes an interesting question. Taft would almost certainly deny that his reason was political and probably pound the table to emphasize the point. But about 2.5 million of the 15 million union workers in this country are in the building trades and Taft's action might go a considerable distance toward neutralizing them in a Presidential race. It has even been charged by some that in exchange for the amendment Gray promised to break up the United Labor Policy Committee. With Gray's help the ULPC, labor's potent united front, was dissolved by the AFL last October.

This is Taft's fight against Socialism through federal controls. At the expense of all who have suffered through inflation, Taft has fought this battle to a standstill. Yet, as Taft warned the National Association of Real Estate Boards, "It is just as easy to socialize the country by constantly increasing the spending of government as it is by direct control." Already, Taft estimates, taxes take 30 percent of our income. "That means," he concludes, "that people are deprived of 30 percent of their liberty." By this logic, if all government were abolished and we paid no taxes, we would all be entirely and blissfully free. But how is this to be accomplished during Taft's lifetime, the years of war and threat of war? And if Philosopher Taft were able, as President, to disarm America and cut the federal budget back to his desired level, how then would Politician Taft react, as profits collapsed and unemployment rose not to 10 percent, but to 40 percent of our entire working population? That is a fascinating question. It will rest, we trust, in the blessed realm of speculation.

(This is the fifth of a series of articles.)

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LITERATURE AND THE ARTS

OF MORAL PREDICAMENTS

THE IRONY OF AMERICAN HISTORY, by Reinhold Niebuhr (Scribner's; $2.50).

REINHOLD NIEBUHR is an eloquent preacher and a shrewd political analyst; and while this book shows many of his virtues it is mainly the work of a theologian defending religious views about the nature of man and history. These views would not concern us very much if they were confined to Monday morning reports of sermons, but they have become part of the canon of a new generation of American liberals and the spiritual guide of those who are now revisiting conservatism.

Mr. Niebuhr adopts a Christian point of view which he contrasts with Marxism, of course, and (less violently) with something called liberalism. Christianity, he says, is inclined to an ironic view of history. "Irony" is a word used to describe a "state of affairs or events which is the reverse of what was, or was to be expected; a result opposite to and as if in mockery of the promised or appropriate result." This definition doesn't require our expectations to be self-defeating since it allows them to be defeated by events external to themselves; expectations don't necessarily lead to their own ironic defeat in the manner of Hegelian theses giving rise to their antitheses. But in Niebuhr's definition we have an ironic situation only when virtue becomes vice through some hidden defect in the virtue; when strength becomes weakness *because* of the vanity to which strength may prompt the mighty man or nation; when security is transferred into insecurity *because* too much reliance is placed on it. In this way, according to Niebuhr, Jeffersonian ideals have led to their own opposite in domestic affairs and in foreign affairs an originally "innocent" nation now finds itself the custodian of the atomic bomb; the "perennial moral predicaments of human history have caught up with a culture which knew nothing of sin or guilt."

We need not list the other ironies which Niebuhr discusses. What interests us is Niebuhr's message for those who are concerned with the future of mankind. In what way is the recognition of these ironies instructive and helpful? How can we overcome them? Niebuhr answers: by recognizing the fragmentary character of human wisdom; by recognizing that man is a creature as well as a creator of the historical process; by accepting the mystery and complexity of things; by realizing that "men cannot rise to a simple triumph over historical fate."

By contrast how do most men react when they see their hopes and ideals "cruelly refuted" by history? Usually by trying to find out what their mistakes were, by asking what they might have done to have avoided the ironic outcome. To answer such questions most rational people proceed by trial and error. Having adopted a policy which has failed we try another in the hope of improvement. We suppose that we can alter our actions and expectations in order to diminish the probability of a second defeat. We do not suppose that we can devise schemes which will be perfect but neither do we imagine ourselves sinners in the hands of an anonymous force which always determines that our hopes will be denied, that our plans will be destroyed, and that our predictions will be falsified by a Cartesian demon. We do not think of ourselves as actors in a drama of human history "under the scrutiny of a divine judge who laughs at human aspirations." We recognize limits to what we can do at any given moment but nevertheless assume that some ironies can be avoided in the future; as empiricists we are humble because we accept the possibility that some of our predictions will be falsified. All of this is in keeping with the pragmatism Niebuhr respects in common men and practical politicians but when philosophers and social scientists work in this spirit it is labeled "nineteenth century rationalism," "enlightenment optimism," and "pretentious social science" —the three bugbears of the Niebuhrians.

When Niebuhr attacks doctrinaires who believe with "fanatic certainty" in the theory of inevitable progress we can agree with him, as would every sensible liberal thinker of the twentieth century. However the refutation of this theory is based on the study of history, the results of psychology, ordinary observation of the behavior of other human beings, introspection and a general philosophical distrust of theses which assert inevitability. Yet none of these considerations makes it reasonable to suppose that we can't improve our situation by progressively diminishing certain political, economic, physical and psychological obstacles. To suppose that we can improve our situation and avoid the repetition of irony is not to suppose that we can reach a perfect state, the limiting case of the series, nor is it to suppose that we can become identical with what Niebuhr has called "the whole"—whatever that means.

If all Niebuhr did was to oppose simple-minded optimism or the view that men are gods, we should embrace him as a sane partisan of the empiricism and pragmatism he assigns to wise American politicians. But surely Niebuhr wants us to learn more than that from him, since that is much too naturalistic and modest. Niebuhr believes in the doctrine of original sin, according to which man is necessarily evil. But this doctrine is just as indefensible as the theory of inevitable progress and, ironically enough, it rests on faith—a faith which has engendered even more "fantastic certainty" than that which theorists of inevitable progress assign to their view. The truly emancipated mind must reject both of these dogmas.

Today Niebuhr is regarded by many as the philosophical Atlas of liberal politics, supporting it with a tough, realistic faith in man's sinfulness where

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others have offered "pretentious social science," the "shallow optimism of the enlightenment" and "nineteenth century rationalism." I dissent heartily. Liberalism needs no support from "ultra-rational presupposition"; it need accept no obscure dogmas about "historical fate"; it cannot accept such monstrous falsehoods as "nothing that is worth doing can be achieved in our lifetime." Everyone is entitled to come to a mature recognition of man's finitude in his own way, but I refuse to believe that our great need is a sense of awe, a sense of contrition, and a sense of gratitude for the divine mercies which are promised to those who humble themselves. With Bertrand Russell I think we must make it clear:

> . . . not merely as an intellectual proposition, but as something that the heart spontaneously believes, that it is not by making others suffer that we shall achieve our own happiness, but that happiness and the means to happiness depend upon harmony with other men.

MORTON WHITE

ROUGH AND DELICATE

WHO WALK IN DARKNESS, by Chandler Brossard (New Directions; $2.75).
FRIENDS AND VAGUE LOVERS, by Jack Dunphy (Farrar, Strauss, Young; $3).

BROSSARD'S NOVEL is about the "hip" (the most advanced and alert, i.e., marijunana-smoking and jivespeaking) element of Greenwich Village, which is more faithful to *The Sun Also Rises* than to its own subject. The parallel is very close, with prizefighting substituted for bull-fighting and a trip to New Jersey standing in place of the trip to Spain. Bossard's style approximates Hemingway's in the following manner:

> I walked by the vegetable pushcarts parked in the gutter . . . smelling the fresh, clean, fragrant smell of the fruit and the freshly watered lettuce and radishes and spring onions and dandelion greens in big boxes. Then by the fish market downstairs with the black-shelled mussels clinging in bunches. . . and the big basin inside the window full of the small black live eels wriggling through the clean running water. The fish smell was strong and sharp.

A novel about hipsters is something new; but when they are presented in a style as derivative as this, nothing new emerges, and what was meant to be discovery comes through as repetition. Moreover, Hemingway's values—they are taken over with the sentence structure—appear curiously dated and out of place in the Village, and the judgment of Village life which Mr. Brossard makes in terms of them is about as arbitrary as it would have been from Alexander Pope's.

The action is mainly concerned with the narrator Blake Williams' involvement and gradual disenchantment with a particularly obnoxious hipster, Henry Porter, and his friends. Williams finds himself in love with Grace, Porter's girl, takes her away from Porter and breaks with the old crowd and its self-indulgent underground attitudes. With this Brossard no doubt means to say that all is not lost, that there is still freshness in life and hope for man; but his novel is so worn out by its burden of hip and Hemingwayish cliches that it cannot rise to the energy which should attend such a conviction.

Friends and Vague Lovers is about an international homosexual set on an island off the coast of Italy. It is written in a cutely allusive manner, of which the following sentence is representative:

> Snow-white clouds tumbled their buttocks to the sun; and the sea winked up at them like a gay old sport with a million eyes for pleasure.

The story is about Mrs. Markham who comes to the island in the hope of forgetting the suicide of her son, Jonathan. Among the homosexuals on the island she meets one named Sheridan who had been, presumably, Jonathan's lover. The rest of the slight action is concerned with the replacement of Jonathan by Sheridan, and the incestuous terrors the latter feels in the course of his attachment to the woman. The sensitive writing which the author is at great pains to exhibit is fairly meaningless because it is supposed to express, all at once, the position, the sensibility, frustration and *Schmerz* of the homosexual, in a language which never descends to anything so vulgar as specific motives. This is obviously not the language of Proust or Gide or even of *Nightwood* which this novel somewhat resembles; for all its heavy esthetic disguise, this is the language of the "problem" novel. As in the worst cases of novels dealing with Jewish, Negro or proletarian themes, the special group is presented in complete isolation from humanity and in a manner impenetrable to the sympathy of outsiders.

ISAAC ROSENFELD

AFTER THEIR EDUCATION

THEY WENT TO COLLEGE, by Ernest Havemann and Patricia West (Harcourt, Brace; $4).

THIS BOOK is based on analysis of an elaborate questionnaire sent by *Time* to all college graduates whose names begin with "Fa." There were enough returns in all—some 9,000—to permit an astonishing variety of comparisons and contrasts. We learn, for instance, that graduates who have moved from large cities to small towns have somewhat bigger families than graduates who have remained in such towns—and, which is hardly surprising, many more children than those who have moved from small towns to large cities. We learn that, other things being equal, the more money, the more children and the more stable the marriage. We learn that the Jewish girl who goes to college does not appreciably decrease her chances of getting married—a finding perhaps not unrelated to the very limited hold that orthodoxy has on the Jewish male graduate—whereas half the Catholic girls who go to college end up as spinsters, whether or not they attended Catholic schools. The data gives no clue as to why this is so; possibly, the male Catholic graduate—who, the returns show, remains overwhelmingly loyal to his Church—tends to be defensive about intelligence and not to appreciate it in women who seek higher education.

The book amply documents the subordinate economic place of women in our society. Whereas Jews, a supposedly underprivileged group, make more money than Catholic and even Protestant graduates (and are more apt to be liberal in politics), 64 per cent of college women, as against 14 per cent of

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college men make less than $3,000 a year (in 1947), and only 1 per cent as against 23 per cent of the men make over $7,500. (But the college women still make much more than non-college women.) Moreover, once the college wife has taken a job, even with the thought that it will be temporary, she greatly reduces the chance that she will ever bear a child; conversely, once she has a child, whatever her dreams of returning to a career when the children have grown up, the chances of her doing so are slim—in part, as the authors suggest, because their menfolk find their wives' roles as supplementary earners or as full-time housewives all too convenient.

This book in fact is full of evidence that early decisions which appear to be minor have grave later consequences. Where one goes to college, the distance from home one travels, what one studies while there—matters often decided on relatively trivial grounds—turn out to be choice points of potentially great significance of one's life-plan. One of the most fascinating things about *They Went to College* is the hint it gives concerning mysterious contingencies which even the most opportunistic among the young are likely to encounter equipped at best with folkloristic "wisdom" such as that which advises college girls—mistakenly, this book shows—not to get A's lest they cut down their appeal as matrimonial bait. So rapidly changing is the market for college graduates, both male and female, and the type of careers they pursue—government and "service" careers such as public relations and hotel management are rising, while the liberal professions are, relatively, declining — that decisions made on the basis of how things stood in 1947 might turn out most "unrealistic" for members of the class of 1956.

The book, indeed, throws no light on such subtle questions as whether the younger college graduates as compared with the older ones are more resigned to loss of control over their destinies, less venturesome, less concerned with the big money. Judging from the many comments which are quoted, young and old alike chide their colleges for lack of course and vocational guidance—they may be for "free enterprise" in business (by 72 per cent), but they seem irritated and angry with it in academia; they want to be told, by means of tests and counseling, what they are fit for, in and after college. (Most, however, would go back to the same college and do the same things over again, and this retroactive rationalization is perhaps one way we avoid becoming aware of all the contingencies which decisively shaped us and our lives.) Many comments, moreover, show a preference for the smaller institution, where social learnings may be easier to come by and where teacher-student relations are less formal. But, again, we do not know whether this preference is growing.

Mr. Havemann and Dr. West are not to be blamed for these curbs on our curiosity; they did not frame the often pedestrian questions, but have made of the replies, by brilliant interpretation, an unpedestrian, many-faceted book which builds on the tradition of questionnaire and interview analysis developed in recent years at Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research. In going back to my own college class reports (Harvard '31) and to the recent study of the Harvard class of 1926 (*The Life and Opinions of a College Class*) for further evidence concerning shifts in folkways among the educated, I was struck by the fact that these Harvardmen, in their brief autobiographies and comments, seemed to place such great emphasis on their families, their hobbies, their general content or discontent, and such little emphasis on vocational achievements and civic honors. To be sure, it turned out in a recent survey of medical school students by the National Opinion Research Center that those who gave idealistic, "service" reasons for becoming doctors expected to attain annual incomes about twice as great as those who gave money-making and careerist reasons. And *They Went to College* shows that Harvard, Yale and Princeton men have a median income of $7,365 as against $5,176 for graduates of the Big Ten.

Such findings may for some be an invitation to cynicism, but they may also be an invitation to further research and speculation about the nature of life-chances in America, and the variety of breeds of men and women who select and are selected by colleges, contingencies and careers. DAVID RIESMAN

SOME INTIMATE ESSAYS

ONE MAN'S AMERICA, by Alistair Cooke (Knopf; $3.50).

ALISTAIR COOKE has the highest reputation and the widest respect in Britain of any contemporary illustrator of the American scene. As the correspondent of the *Manchester Guardian*, a paper which sensibly recognises that what goes on in the United States as a whole is of more lasting importance than the twists and turns of diplomatic policy in Washington, and as the author of *A Generation on Trial*, and of a weekly broadcast to Britain, his judgments probably carry more weight with the intelligent British public than those of any other correspondent.

This book is a collection of some thirty of his radio talks on the BBC. As he says himself, "It is not easy to imagine them done at all over American radio. They are exercises in the radio essay," an art form particularly dear to British listeners, and perhaps the most original contribution of the BBC to radio technique and script writing.

I often think that Americans must get a little fatigued by the number and volubility of the British experts on America —the Oxford Dons who can tell you exactly what Mayor Hague said in 1926, the inner history of the LaFollette family, or why Sheridan was a better General than Beauregard. Mr. Cooke valiantly resists the temptation to parade his knowledge of this country. He is concerned to make a middle-brow English audience understand "what is best (they hear plenty from other sources what is worst) and what is most characteristic, about the people and landscape of the United States." For all that he is now an American citizen and has lived for fifteen years in this country, he has retained a fine ear for what British people find

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comprehensible and incomprehensible about America. And the core of his success is a combination of two American, not British virtues, didacticism and enthusiasm. He wants the British to get certain facts about America straight, in particular the effect of the conglomeration of racial strains upon the national consciousness and he takes pains to see that they do. And he describes the virtues and the beauties of this country with approving gusto.

The range of these essays is a wide one. There are several sketches of people: Will Rogers, Margaret Truman, an excellent one on Joe Louis, a moving little print of Lee at Appomatox, and an exploration of why Damon Runyon, with a provincial and astigmatic view of Broadway, has always been accepted in Britain as an archetype of a New Yorker. Inevitably, there is an attempt to correct the British and European view of New York as a fabulous modern Babylon. Mr. Cooke is less trustworthy where his enthusiasm is not aroused; his essay on Washington which he visits only at the behest of urgent journalistic duty, is pastiche and rather conventional pastiche at that. To my mind the most successful are those which deal with American landscape, and he has brought with him the English eye for countryside. The Florida swamps, the Arizona desert, the New England fall acquire a reality and depth which the average movie-going Englishman never sees in the fabulous American backdrop. And the whole book is peppered with neat observations on the enduring, quarrelsome Anglo-American marriage. It is a tribute to Mr. Cooke that having become an American citizen, which involves more emotional stress for an Englishman than for any European, he should be able to observe both his old and his new native lands, from some position on Atlantis, with equal amusement and accuracy.

This book is not a *must* for American readers, and it is one of the minor tragedies of inflation that everyone feels guilty at buying a book primarily for entertainment. But an American reader will find as much pleasure in composing his soul to sleep each night with one of these five-page essays as Mr. Cooke's Friday night audience in Britain has found in listening to them.

ALASTAIR BUCHAN

Mr. Buchan is the Washington correspondent for The Observer in London.

FICTION BEFORE PROBLEM

LAUGHING TO KEEP FROM CRYING, by Langston Hughes (Henry Holt; $2.75).

LANGSTON HUGHES does not really write about Negroes. Of course the people who appear in the neat, pungent sketches and stories of *Laughing to Keep From Crying* have "colored" skin; but they appear as themselves and not as additional case histories for the indictment against racism. Fiction dealing with the problem of the Negro is understandably bitter, but this very bitterness tends to abstract injustice. Such books are limited despite their power, and the intensely human, individualized prose of Langston Hughes gives a more specific insight into racism than can be achieved by even the best problem fiction. The individuals in *Laughing To Keep From Crying* are individuals first and victims second, so that racism is seen as effecting not "Colored People" but men and women who have been met on their own terms.

Hughes writes a lucid, conversational style intimate as a personal letter and casual as a feature column. However the apparently effortless, facile prose contains undercurrents of sly humor, quiet bitterness and social consciousness that echo in the mind. It is the sort of lean, compact writing that implies as much as it states; an active, rhythmical prose without excess literary fat.

Laughing To Keep From Crying ranges from an amusing piece about two American drifters in Hong Kong (one white and the other Negro) to the memorable portrait of the Jim Crow Negro college professor who "thought how with six thousand dollars a year earned by dancing to the tune of Jim Crow education, he could carry his whole family to South America for a summer where they wouldn't feel like Negroes." For the most part it is a pleasant, relaxed book that gets its message across because it doesn't always insist on it.

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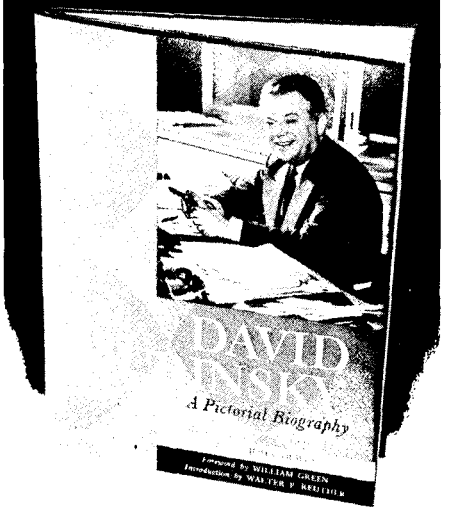

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SOLDIER OR STATESMAN

THE MARSHALL STORY, by Robert Payne (Prentice-Hall; $5).

THE VOLUMES about the men who led the United States in World War II—they or their ghost writers have often been the authors—continue in an apparently unending stream. A few of them have been excellent; among them is Robert E. Sherwood's history of President Roosevelt and Harry Hopkins. Another valuable book is *On Active Service* by Henry L. Stimson and his collaborator, McGeorge Bundy. Others are verbose and dull. A few, such as the late Gen. George S. Patton's own story of his exploits, are plain silly.

The historians who write the definitive accounts of World War II will have to examine most of the books and somehow separate myths from facts. Their task will be arduous, to put it mildly. But they will breathe a sigh of relief when they dip into the pages of Mr. Payne's life of George C. Marshall, while Chief of Staff. Mr. Payne declares truthfully that his book "is more concerned with the mind of General Marshall than with a recital of his day to day activities." Mr. Payne is objective. He has few illusions about modern war or modern generals.

He regards Marshall as:

> . . . an admirable case history of a general in possession of a superb intelligence, a man who was oppressed by war and yet strove to bring himself to a pitch of mechanical perfection in the art of war . . . and who knows more about war than anyone else in his generation. . . .

The questions raised about General Marshall are peculiarly relevant as the United States approaches the Presidential campaign of 1952 with Gen. Dwight D. Eisenhower apparently gaining strength for the Republican nomination as the conventions draw closer. How valid is military training, even when it reaches the highest possible stratum, for a man to be elected to high civil office? Mr. Payne suggests questions which must be answered. Marshall may have had ultimate confidence in the armies he led from the sheltered corridors of the Pentagon.

But as Chief of Staff he often had doubts regarding our civilian population, about which he probably knew rather little. He is quoted as saying that he was "discouraged by the democratic processes in a great and critical emergency like that of today." He went on to discern an element of self-destruction among the people. "Some seem to be intent on the suicide of our own war effort," he declared.

That any appreciable part of the American public held any such viewpoint is, of course, ridiculous. Mr. Payne's life of Marshall, fair and friendly as it is, heightens the belief that the military mind is badly qualified to serve its citizens in an elective role. The further that the soldier rises, the less he may know about Americans who wear no uniform. Marshall, like all top-flight officers, was surrounded by yes men who rarely took issue with the decisions. Marshall, raised in Virginia, could never quite cleanse his mind of a belief that the divided country of the Civil War still existed.

So much of the currents of American life were alien to him that he might as well have been a priest in some remote parish. He had not the slightest sympathy for the problems of labor, for instance. His rage exploded when the coal strike and a threatened steel dispute threatened production. At a press conference he declared that the labor leaders were gambling away the lives of American soldiers. They were allies of the Axis, the Chief of Staff went so far as to assert.

"There was a streak of the dictator in him, something forbidding and proud; he could not hide it," writes his biographer. "The outbursts were the signs of his irresponsibility; he belonged to the military caste and he could not escape the military's disdain for labor."

The facts of Marshall's life set forth by Mr. Payne make it unlikely that the boy could have grown into a different man. He was still in his 'teens when he decided to follow a military career. His record as an officer in World War I was hardly distinguished. He appears to have been blind to the possibilities of an attack on Pearl Harbor. Yet his rise in World War II was rapid. Surely we have had far worse chiefs of staff. Marshall's decency and honor cannot be seriously attacked. Nor can his ability for arduous labor. Like nearly all eminent officers he was conservative. He detested changes, whether in politics or military methods. And Marshall was a humane man. He told Congressional hearings that he hated war, and there is no reason to suppose that he was ever reconciled to killing.

HENRY F. PRINGLE

THE MODERN SHAKESPEARE

by Eric Bentley

II

IN PART I last week, I sketched the history and discussed the meaning of the "modern" Shakespeare movement—the movement that began with Granville Barker and is now represented variously by Margaret Webster, Maurice Evans, and Laurence Olivier. In short, the "modern" style of Shakespeare is no style at all. The poet comes on stage totally uninterpreted. I have even heard "modern" Shakespearians defend the total absence of interpretation. "Let Shakespeare speak for himself," they say, "add nothing, subtract nothing." "I have no more theories about producing Shakespeare," one of them has written, "than I have about eating my lunch. This is not that familiarity breeds contempt—I like a well-balanced lunch—but I think the approach should be as simple, prompted by the same urge, necessity."

Surely this negative theory of production is based on a radical misunderstanding of the performing arts. It is falsely assumed that an entirely negative performance is possible. I have heard people demand that a poem be read aloud "neutrally," totally without "interference" from the reader. How is this to be done? By reading "expressionlessly"? The so-called expressionless voice is frequently used by actors to express exhaustion—it is one of the most expressive of voices. The only way to perform negatively is not to perform at all. The minute the voice is used you have expression. To interpret is simply to be aware of this and to wish to give to expression the right direction.

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You can ask Shakespeare to speak for himself, only he won't do it. All you get is a babel of individual voices each speaking for itself—the voice of each actor, that of the designer, and so forth—and no co-ordination. There is as much "interference" as possible but no coherence. How many modern productions one has seen in which everything was at sixes and sevens! For a show doesn't become Shakespearian by being unconsidered. To create performances one must believe not only in Shakespeare but in the performing arts. Performance has to be accepted as a positive factor.

To be fair, one should admit that our "modern" Shakespearians do regard the sensuous elements of drama as positive. Thus, in the degree of each director's taste, pleasing patterns for the eye and ear are created. This gives us our myriad "tasteful" productions, and could give no more. What is neglected is meaning. Drama presents life. It means something. Even Shakespeare means something: one has to insist on the point since the prime error of the "modern" movement is to have overlooked or denied it.

The "modern" directors have tried to direct and control the play on the aesthetic side while leaving the meaning to look after itself. Your humbler British director is content to limit himself to the barest rudiments of performance; the actors must be seen and heard, they must not bump into each other, the play must be kept going without let-up. Your more ambitious director dolls it up. Either way, too crass a separation is made between technique and content, the director's efforts being limited to the technique. Even the technical rudiments, however, involve the meaning of an action or scene. The economy of art is such that no element serves a merely negative technical end; each has also its positive, poetic force. The negative purpose of a move, for example, may be to keep two actors from colliding but the move is fully justified only if it also has a meaning, if it helps to underline (or controvert) a point. According to its direction, and the manner in which it is executed, it helps to define the man who makes it and the situation in which he finds himself. The need for a director who has some view of the play as a whole is inexorable.

One sees the polemic force in the British director's contempt for theories of production. What he has in mind are the extreme reinterpretations of Shakespeare that used to be made in Soviet Russia and Germany. There is only one thing worse than not interpreting, one might think, and that is interpreting. One hears with misgiving that Director A has a "new idea" for a production or that Director B has been reading a book and will now give us a Hamlet whose only problem is loving his mother. I have even seen a version of *Measure for Measure* (Tyrone Guthrie's Old Vic production in 1939) in which the "great idea" was supposed to be that Isabel had a father complex. (I should add that this interpretation was admirably unapparent in the actual performance.) Then there was the Orson Welles' *Julius Caesar* with its war of progressives and reactionaries.

We enter again here upon that realm of semi-intellectuality which does intellect such a disservice in the theatre and elsewhere. The Broadway intelligentsia is no more convincing when it goes Freudian or Marxist than when it champions a Shakespeare without tears. Crazes, fads and semi-ideas are not better than no ideas at all. Adolescent over-interpretation is not the remedy for genteel under-interpretation.

During 1951 I saw some essays in the more serious interpretation of Shakespeare—and one of Shaw (which oddly enough is relevant)—that indicate a new direction might be taken if certain performers received encouragement. This direction might be described as realistic. It is not a return to the naturalism of cluttered decor and muttered speech, but it is a reaction from the merely decorative. The most important of these essays —Anthony Quayle's production at Stratford-on-Avon of the history sequence *Richard II*, *Henry IV*, and *Henry V*—I hope to write of later at some length. Part III of *The Modern Shakespeare* will be devoted to Margaret Webster's *Saint Joan* and Alec Guinness' *Hamlet*.

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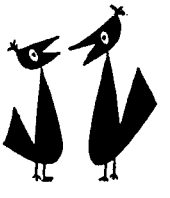

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